THE INTERACTION OF RACE AND GENDER ON ROOKIE EVALUATIONS OF THEIR FIELD TRAINING OFFICERS (FTOs)

by

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Abstract

Police agencies began accepting minorities and women for sworn positions largely following the Equal Opportunity Act of 1972. However, after nearly three decades, minorities, women, and minority women have failed to achieve employment parity. This study expands upon Doerner and Patterson's (1992) work in which they found significant gender differences in recruit evaluations of their Field Training Officer (FTO). The current research examines 198 FTO evaluations completed by 92 rookie officers during a pre-service field training program. Analysis of both recruit and FTO race and gender present no significant differences in evaluation scores. These findings suggest a progression in equality from the recruit perspective a decade after the original study.

Introduction

Researchers have studied the employment status and resultant effects of affirmative action

in promoting minority employment in police departments since the Equal Opportunity Act of 1972

expanded the Civil Rights Act of 1964 beyond the private sector to encompass public employers.

Affirmative action seeks to establish equal employment opportunities by correcting the

underemployment of minorities in a given job category compared to their availability in the local

labor market. Minorities and women have made relatively little progress towards achieving

employment equity in policing compared to other segments of the civilian workforce. While

progress has been somewhat stagnant in policing, other traditionally male-dominated occupations,

such as law and medicine, have seen a steady increase in minority and female participation. While

studies have considered the status of various minority groups in law enforcement, they have failed

to consider why police agencies lag behind these other traditionally male-dominated jobs in

achieving parity with consideration to availability in the labor force.

Published research on affirmative action in law enforcement has focused on three principle

areas. Early investigations considered the introduction of minority members, specifically black

males, into policing. Next, studies turned to the integration of women into the ranks of sworn

personnel. More recently, writers have addressed the dual discrimination faced by minority

women by virtue of the combination of their race and gender.

Black males seem to have gained a measure of acceptance in most departments, although

this reception may be primarily at the lower rank levels. As of 1990, black males composed

approximately 10.5% of all sworn officers (National Crime Prevention Council, 1995).

Hochstedler and Conley (1986) suggest the underrepresentation of black males in policing may

reflect a deliberate choice not to enter that field. Probably, much of the interaction young black

males have had with the police has been negative. Similarly, Kaminski (1993) agrees minorities

choose to not enter policing as a profession. However, he attributes this decision to disapproval

from family members and friends.

Likewise, women have failed to achieve employment parity 28 years after passage of the

equal opportunity act. Currently, females comprise only 12% of sworn officers (International

Association of Chiefs of Police, 1998). While black males may have elected not to enter policing,

the status of women in law enforcement appears to be a different issue. Although females may

have chosen to enter the profession, initially they faced several admission barriers such as physical

agility tests as well as minimum height and weight standards (Hochstedler, 1984; Poulos and

Doerner, 1996). Additionally, even after gaining employment, female officers must contend with

social and organizational factors that minimize the role of women in male-dominated police

organizations (Berg and Budnick, 1986; Charles, 1981; Hale and Wyland, 1993).

Black women hold slightly less than half of the sworn positions attributed to female

officers (National Center for Women and Policing, 1998). Also, black women face the same

employment and retention issues as women in general. However, black women do not rise to

supervisory and command positions in commensurate proportions. Black women account for

3.1% of supervisory positions and only 1.9% of top command positions compared to 9.6% and

7.5%, respectively, for women as a whole (National Center for Women and Policing, 1998).

A number of writers have explored the recruitment and retention of minorities and women in policing. However, they have neglected to establish reasons for the lack of representation in law enforcement, especially for women and minority women. The current study attempts to expand upon the progress of minorities and women in policing, along with the social and organizational impediments to that progress. The combined attributes of American society and the police entity are considered through an extensive literature review, while an analysis of the experiences of police recruits during post-academy, pre-service training provides a glimpse at minority and female status.

Doerner and Patterson (1992) delved into the differential experiences of police recruits by examining the perceptions these fledgling officers held of their training officers. Trainees were given the opportunity to evaluate their trainers anonymously upon completion of each of several phases of the Field Training Officer (FTO) Program. Coupling background characteristics of both the recruit and the training officer allowed comparison of evaluation scores across racial and gender categories. This analysis revealed white rookies and nonwhite rookies graded their white FTOs similarly. However, female rookies graded their male FTOs more harshly than did their male counterparts. Unfortunately, an insufficient sample size and lack of minority or female FTOs precluded a more detailed analysis.

The current study attempts to expand upon the Doerner and Patterson (1992) work. A larger sample, combined with a more diverse group of FTOs from the same agency allows

replication of this research with three principal objectives. First, the current study attempts to chart the progress toward the perceived acceptance of women and minorities within the Tallahassee Police Department (TPD) by comparing contemporary FTO evaluations with the results obtained a decade ago. Second, a greater representation of minority members as trainers permits greater scrutiny of the influence of FTO race upon recruit perceptions. Finally, the data afford this author the opportunity to explore the dual discrimination experienced by black female recruits by comparing their FTO critique scores with those from other demographic groups.

Literature Review

This section organizes the available research affecting the rookie field training experience into three major categories. The first portion addresses the attributes of the police agency through its history, current role in society, and the socialization process involved in integrating new recruits into the department. The second area focuses on the attempted integration and resultant discrimination experienced by minorities and women, especially minority women, in police departments and other law enforcement agencies. The final body of literature exposes the role the Field Training Officer Program and the FTO play in the training, evaluation, and socialization of police recruits. As a whole, this concatenation of research illuminates the interactions which affect the differential experiences of female and minority recruits compared to their white male peers.

The Police Agency

Historical Perspective. Because policing as an entity appears resistant to the integration of minorities and women, it is necessary to gain an understanding of the police role in America. Schmalleger (1997) provides a historical vision of early American policing as loosely organized across a remote frontier. He emphasizes the reliance on citizen posses and vigilante groups to combat violence. These groups, along with such popular personalities such as Bat Masterson and Wyatt Earp, are renowned for dispensing swift justice, often in the form of lynching.

American cities moved beyond vigilantism with the organization of a paid night watch in

New York City in 1658. Other communities followed this example. By 1844, New York's watch forces were officially combined into the New York City Police Department. The newly-formed police departments throughout America saw little change until the turn of the century introduced new technology to law enforcement. Also, the twentieth century brought the first sworn female police officers. However, their role was limited to working with women and children (Grennan, 2000; Schmalleger, 1997).

This historical view presents early American policing as a male-dominated institution originating in a violent, primitive society. Popular legend emphasizes the aggressive role embodied by the frontier sheriff as he dispensed justice to desperadoes (Dantzker, 2000). Although women and racial minorities entered law enforcement in small numbers, they played a minimal role. Palmiotto (1997) suggests women and minorities filled positions rejected by white male officers, which included policing women, children, and minority neighborhoods.

The Police Role. The current role of the police organization in American society is to maintain public safety and social order (Dantzker, 2000; Palmiotto, 1997). A multitude of tasks must be performed to maintain safety and order. These duties range from the enforcement of laws to the administration of social services. Dantzker (2000), Plamiotto (1997), and Schmalleger (1997) each note a contradiction within the police role, which stems from two different models of policing. Dantzker (2000) differentiates between the police role and the law enforcement role. The mission of *police* agencies is to promote public service and public accountability. In contrast, *law enforcement* agencies focus on the investigation and enforcement of criminal activities.

Dantzker (2000, p. 1) further paints the police officer as an "armed social worker" and the law enforcement officer as a "crime fighter."

Palmiotto (1997) characterizes agencies by their emphasis on a reactive or proactive stance towards crime control. Reactive agencies primarily employ their officers in response to citizen complaints of crimes after they are committed. Increased technology, particularly the patrol car, police radio, and the 911-telephone system, has greatly promoted reactive response. Proactive agencies, on the other hand, consolidate their efforts toward preventing crimes before they occur. Proactive programs can range from community policing to sting operations and drug buys.

Police Subculture and Socialization. Several authors (Balkin, 1988; Maghan, 1993; Storms, Penn, and Tenzell, 1990) recognize the existence of a unique police subculture. They suggest this subculture consists of shared attitudes and behaviors which are specific to policing and fundamentally different from society in general. Additionally, these authors suggest this subculture exists because of the nature of police work, police agency organizational structure, and public perceptions of police and police work.

Police work and police officers are viewed as masculine in nature (Balkin, 1988; Berg and Budnick, 1986; Miller, 1998; Storms, Penn, and Tenzell, 1990). The American public sees police work as requiring strength, courage, and authority (Balkin, 1988). The police personality is essentially masculine exhibiting such traits as control, assertion, aggression, and isolation. The public appears to accept the police role as masculine and police officers tend to embody masculine

traits (Storms, Penn, and Tenzell, 1990). Charles (1981) finds American gender socialization prohibits women from accepting the police role and prohibits male officers from accepting female officers as equals.

Bennett (1984) characterizes police work as inherently dangerous and ambiguous. He contends police officers experience social isolation from the public and individual depersonalization from the paramilitary organization. Conversely, Balkin (1988) disputes the magnitude of job-related danger. However, he affirms the existence of social isolation and its stifling effect on social change.

Police recruits, drawn from the general public, undergo a socialization process during training which compels them to accept and internalize appropriate occupational attitudes and behaviors (Bennett, 1984; Maghan, 1993). Maghan (1993) found pre-service academy training pushes recruit attitudes closer to those held by veteran officers. Bennett (1984) suggested recruits are socialized into the police role through affiliation and influence with the police reference group. The magnitude of reference group affiliation and its influence is increased by job characteristics, such as danger and isolation, and shared personal characteristics, such as socioeconomic status, race, and education. Bennett (1984) also found minorities reject reference group affiliation, leading to reduced job satisfaction and limited success.

Women and Minority Officers

Since 1972, the limited success at the integration of minorities and women into police agencies has provided ample opportunity for study. Early works concentrated on the status of

minority police officers, particularly black male officers. Later literature addressed the assimilation of women into policing and the most recent foray illuminates the plight of minority women, specifically black female police officers. Furthermore, the depth of available research ranges from that based only on employment statistics to that which considers promotion and retention differentials as evidence of inequity.

Minority Officers. Minorities, including blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and other non-white races or ethnic groups, comprised 21.5% of all sworn officers from local police departments and 19.0% of sworn officers in sheriff's departments in the United States during 1997 (Goldberg and Reaves, 2000; Reaves and Goldberg, 2000). Hoschstedler and Conley (1986) asserted the representation of blacks in policing generally increases with black representation in the local community. However, they did not suggest that percentages of black police would mirror those of black citizens in the local area. In addition to minority civilian presence, several authors (Felkenes, Peretz, and Schroedel, 1993; Hochstedler, 1984; Martin, 1994; Warner, Steel, and Lovrich, 1990) list affirmative action plans or quotas as the most important determinant of minority representation. The presence of a minority police chief is also positively associated with increased minority employment (Warner, Steel, and Lovich, 1990).

While agencies may meet affirmative action hiring quotas, a high minority turnover rate may subvert the spirit of affirmative action (Doerner, 1995). Doerner (1995) suggests black officers are less likely to complete field training than are white recruits. Additionally, those minority officers who are hired and retained through field training and probationary periods may

face further discrimination through reduced promotion opportunities (Charles, 1991; Walker, Spohn, and Delone, 1996).

Women Officers. Women accounted for 10.0% of all sworn officers in local police departments and 15.6% of all sworn sheriff's department personnel in 1997 (Goldberg and Reaves, 2000; Reaves and Goldberg, 2000). The National Center for Women and Policing (1998) found that women increased their representation in policing by only 3.2 % between 1990 and 1998. As a result, women are unlikely to ever achieve employment parity at this rate of increase. While growth has been slow in comparison to other traditionally male jobs, such as law, medicine, and management, women have fared better in policing than in other blue-collar jobs, such as carpentry and firefighting (Martin, 1991, 1993). Internationally, female representation in policing reflects the impact of gendered norms. Historically male-dominated countries, such as India and Japan have little female representation with 1.2% and 1.6% of officers, respectively. At the other end of the spectrum, Israel reports 18.2% of officers are women, and Canada boasts 21% female officers (U.S. Department of Justice, 1993).

Women have had to overcome a number of obstacles in order to gain employment in law enforcement. The most prominent issue has been physical strength. Police leaders, male officers, and even female officers differentiate between the physical abilities of male and female cops (Charles, 1981; Felkenes, Peretz, and Schroedel, 1993; International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1998; Martin, 1994). This focus on physical strength appears to be related to the risk of violence and injury inherent in policing (Martin, 1993; Mastrofski, 1990). The FBI confirms this

risk with over 59,000 police officers in the U.S. assaulted in 1998 and 30.6% of these receiving

injuries (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1999). Hochstedler (1984) notes many agencies have

eliminated barriers to selection including physical agility tests, height and weight standards, as

well as minimum size and weight of service weapon. Other agencies have implemented special

physical training programs to increase capabilities on physical agility tests (Felkenes, Peretz, and

Schroedel, 1993).

Although female officers have been lauded as being equally capable in patrol work and

superior in communication and interpersonal skills (Cuadrado, 1995; International Association of

Chiefs of Police, 1998; National Center for Women & Policing, 1998), they continue to

experience organizational resistance to retention and promotion. Female officers routinely face

discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace (Felkenes, Peretz, and Schroedel, 1993;

Herrington, 1993; Hochstedler, 1984). Many women have left this abusive environment rather

submit to daily intimidation and harassment (National Center for Women & Policing, 1998).

Furthermore, police organizations do not promote women into supervisory and command

positions in proportion to their representation in policing. More than a third of all agencies in this

country have no women in top command positions (National Center for Women & Policing,

1998). Hale and Wyland (1993) maintain police department leaders are responsible for the failure

to employ, promote, and retain women in a discrimination-free environment.

Minority Women Officers. While white women officers appear to continue to face

discriminatory treatment despite equivalent job performance, some authors contend minority

women experience increased discrimination by virtue of the combination of their race and gender (Martin, 1994; National Center for Women and Policing, 1998). The U.S. Department of Justice (Goldberg and Reaves, 2000; Reaves and Goldberg, 2000) reports black women account for only 2.5% of all local police officers and 3.7% of all sheriffs' deputies. Likewise, Hispanic women number less than 1% in these organizations. Doerner (1995) notes that while female officers have higher employment attrition rates than males, these figures are especially pronounced for black females. Martin (1994) suggests black women fail to achieve unity with either other women or with black males. This disassociation with other women is a result of white women enjoying a comparatively higher status and more favorable treatment from male officers. Further, the lack of racial bonding with black males is due to animosity created through competition for affirmative action positions.

Other Occupations. Since literature dealing with women and minorities in policing is generally limited to descriptive articles, it is worthwhile to consider a broader perspective. This writer perceives the dominantly restrictive characteristics of policing, as it pertains to women, to be the traditional male-dominance of the job, the physical strength component, and the possibility of violence or injury. Two occupations, the military and firefighting, meet these three characteristics and offer an opportunity to consider gender and race outside the police environment.

Segal (1995) conducted a study on the use of women in the military throughout history and across several nations. She found participation of women in the armed forces depended upon

an association between the military's need for personnel, the strength of cultural values limiting women's roles, and the level of risk to national security. Women typically enter the military in two different situations. First, women are admitted when the risk to national security is high and there is a shortage of eligible males. Alternately, women are inducted when the risk level is low and cultural values support gender equality. Even when women are accepted into the military, they are almost always restricted to noncombatant duties. Women have participated in combat in various revolutions, including those in Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Yugoslavia. However, after the governments were overthrown, women returned to more traditional social roles outside the military. Finally, Segal (1995) noted the contributions of technology in enabling the participation of women in the military. Technology has produced weapons that require less upper body strength and has enabled women to control reproduction. Likewise, American police agencies are affected by personnel availability, cultural values, and technological advancements.

Stiehm (1998) addressed the perceptions of both male and female soldiers on the capability of women to meet the physical challenges of being a soldier and to participate in combat. She found only two-thirds of female soldiers believe women are up to the physical demands of being in the Army. With respect to participating in combat, she reported between 13% and 27% of female soldiers, depending on rank, believe women do not have the required strength and stamina to participate in combat. Similarly, between 35% and 49% of male soldiers agreed women are incapable of participating effectively as combatants.

Moore and Webb (1998) looked into the equal opportunity atmosphere of the United

States Navy. In 1994, the National Defense Authorization Act opened jobs on combat vessels and combat aircraft to women. However, women were still restricted from direct combat occupations. Within this environment, Moore and Webb (1998) discovered black females to be the least satisfied group with the equal opportunity climate of the Navy. Black female sailors indicated discrimination through derogatory comments, unfair awards programs, inequitable disciplinary practices, as well as a lack of training opportunities and mentoring programs. Surprisingly, despite pervasive discrimination, this group of minority women maintained a high level of job satisfaction due to the perception of low civilian opportunities.

The conflux of race and gender complicate the experiences of black female firefighters, much like that of black female police officers. Yoder and Aniakudo (1997), in a snowball sample of 24 black female firefighters, described the social interactions of the firehouse as hostile to women. Firefighters, like police officers, rely heavily on teamwork and physical ability in what can become a life-or-death situation. Additionally, due to the demands of shift work, they routinely spend 24 hours together in shared quarters. Within this environment, black women experience exclusion, hostility, silence, inadequate training, and overly enthusiastic supervision. Black female firefighters, in this study, report extremely negative relations with white male coworkers. Likewise, interactions with black male and white female firefighters tend to be strained due to gender or racial barriers. Finally, it is unusual for two women to work the same shift in a given firehouse and even more rare for two black women to be teammates.

<u>Field Training</u>

The 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice suggested that police departments in the United States should implement a period of supervised field training for new police officers. This field training was conceived as a bridge between academy classroom instruction and actual patrol work. The President's Commission also proposed specially trained FTOs conduct this field training and a concurrent evaluation. By 1972, the San Jose, California, Police Department had implemented the first FTO Program, and it continues to be a model for other departments (McCampbell, 1993).

FTO programs have training and evaluation as their two primary goals. With respect to training, the FTO Program is designed to provide structured and equitable pre-service training in organizationally-determined job-performance tasks (Hartman, 1979). After training on a given task, the FTO Program allows for an objective daily evaluation of the recruit's job performance (Oettmeier, 1982). McCampbell (1993) suggests agencies conduct a task analysis of the patrol function as the basis of this daily performance appraisal. Hartman (1979) proposes this structured approach to training and evaluation ensures all recruits receive similar training and fair assessment. As an additional benefit, the FTO Program shifts the training burden from the patrol sergeant to a specifically trained FTO, resulting in increased program consistency and reduced workload for patrol supervisors (Hartman, 1979).

The key element in the successful execution of the FTO Program is the capability of the training officer. The success of the FTO Program is based upon careful selection, training, and

retention of experienced senior patrol officers for FTO assignment. After selection and training of the FTO, the organization should control training through organized lesson plans and written policies. Additionally, the agency should also govern the evaluation process through the creation of a standardized job-criteria related instrument (McCampbell, 1993).

Well-organized and administered field training programs and skilled FTOs are associated with reduced civil liability complaints and with decreased numbers of Equal Employment Opportunity complaints against departments (McCampbell, 1993). Bradley and Pursley (1987) maintain a key component of a successful program is the evaluation instrument. They support the validity of a behavioral-based, supervisor-administered rating scale for patrol evaluation. Such a task-oriented appraisal is predictive of later success or failure as an officer and is sufficient evidence of inaptitude to justify termination (Oettmeier, 1982). Also, Doerner, Speir, and Wright (1989) find that evaluations conducted with this type of instrument are not influenced by the gender or race of the rater, further supporting the validity of this assessment method.

Previous research indicates support for the equity and efficiency of the FTO Program from an organizational viewpoint. However, the perspective of recruits is somewhat different. In a study of 24 police officers who had recently completed field training, Fagan (1985) lists a number of traits which rookies learned from their FTOs. These traits included job dedication, discipline, tactfulness, neatness, frankness, independence, and persistence. Fagan's (1985) work suggests the FTO plays a primary role in the socialization of new officers. Doerner and Patterson (1992) support this assertion through their study of the effects of race and gender upon a trait-based

evaluation of the trainer by the rookie officer. They find that gender plays an important role in determining how recruits perceive their FTOs, suggesting differing socialization experiences in field training.

Literature Summary

Published research, as a whole, indicates the police organization emphasizes a number of character traits which American society sees as middle-class, masculine qualities. Minority and gender employment parity require both changes in the social norms of the police agency and acceptance of these norms by the individual. Police departments have been slow to change, partially due to perceived job requirements. Likewise, minorities and women have been equally resistant to internalizing the established police culture, possibly because of long-standing barriers in American society. Regardless of the reasons, minorities and women undergo a fundamentally different experience from that of the white male. The current research attempts a more complete understanding of that experience as encompassed within the FTO program and as affected by the variables of race and gender with respect to both the recruit and the trainer.

Hypotheses

The literature review suggests three separate hypotheses which guide this study. Each hypothesis draws upon recruit and trainer experiences during the FTO Program with respect to race and gender. Specifically, these hypotheses will compare and contrast the perceptions minority and female trainees have of their training officers.

The first hypothesis addresses race as an independent variable. This researcher expects minority recruits will evaluate training officers somewhat more critically than do white trainees. Likewise, recruits are expected to critique minority FTOs more harshly than white FTOs.

The second hypothesis refers to the experiences of recruits by gender. It is expected that female recruits will evaluate training officers somewhat more critically than do male trainees. Furthermore, recruits are expected to critique female FTOs more harshly than male FTOs.

The third hypothesis deals with the dual discrimination experienced by minority women as suggested by Moore and Webb (1998), Yoder and Aniakudo (1997), and Martin (1994). This researcher expects minority female trainees to evaluate training officers more critically than other trainee gender/race categories. Additionally, this group is projected to evaluate white male FTOs most severely, followed by white female FTOs.

Methods

The Research Site

The current study takes place in the municipal police department of Tallahassee, Florida. The city has a population exceeding 130,000 and occupies approximately 90 square miles. In addition to being the seat of state government, Tallahassee hosts two major universities and a large community college. The Tallahassee Police Department is currently authorized 330 full-time sworn officers.

The city is racially diverse with 68% of the population identified as white compared to 29% black according to the 1990 census. The police department has been attempting to establish racial and gender employment parity since it came under a consent decree in the early 1980s. As of December 1998, the department composition was 21.6% black officers and 34.8% female officers.

The Field Training Officer (FTO) Program

During the Tallahassee Police Department Field Training Officer (FTO) Program, recruits participate in four phases of training spanning a total of approximately 14 weeks. Phases One through Three last 4 weeks each, while the final session is only 2-weeks long. As the new officers progress through each section of training, they must assume greater responsibility and demonstrate increased competence.

The department assigns a senior officer, who has completed a 40-hour FTO-training

course, to each recruit. His or her responsibility is to provide daily one-on-one instruction and evaluation during each step of the program. Normally, only one FTO will be paired with a trainee throughout an entire phase of training. However, if the assigned FTO becomes unavailable due to other commitments, an alternate FTO will step in either to substitute or to complete the training. Upon completion of a training phase, the successful recruit progresses to the next level and joins a different FTO. In addition to instruction and evaluation in each phase, the FTO counsels the rookie officer on substandard performance and suggests methods for improvement. Should the junior officer fail to improve performance, he or she may be subjected to remedial training or termination of employment.

<u>The Evaluation Instrument</u>

After each of the first three field training phases, the trainee is offered the opportunity to conduct an anonymous standardized written evaluation of the FTO's performance during that phase. The evaluation consists of two sections. Part one identifies the field training officer and the phase of training. Additionally, the trainee is asked to estimate the percentage of effort the FTO expended in training compared to evaluation. Finally, the recruit is questioned as to whether the FTO related to the trainee as an individual or one of a number of probationary officers. In section two, the rookie rates the senior officer in eight areas as follows:

- Ability of the trainer as a police officer;

- Example set for the trainee;

- Interest in imparting training material and information to the recruit;

- Knowledge of training material covered;

- Skill as an instructor, teacher, or trainer;

- Ability to communicate with the student;

- Application of honesty, fairness, and objectivity in rating the trainee; and,

- The FTO's overall attitude for the work he or she is doing.

The trainee can select one of five responses on each question. These possibilities appear on a scale of one through five. These scale parts include: (1) poor, (2) fair, (3) average, (4) good, and (5) excellent.

The current data set includes 223 FTO evaluations completed by recruits from 1996 through 1999. Although the evaluations were anonymous, researchers were able to identify trainees through departmental training records and duty rosters. This match was possible because the handwritten evaluations were reviewed and dated by the training department. This information permitted cross-reference of date and training phase with agency files to identify the recruit, since each FTO was assigned only one recruit at any given time. The pairing of recruit identity with evaluation scores was not released to agency personnel to assure officer confidentiality.

The Study Group

Although this project began with 223 evaluations, researchers were unable to identify authors in 24 cases. This attrition resulted from missing training records or failure of the training section to date stamp the evaluation when received. An additional evaluation was discarded from

the data set because the trainee failed to clearly identify his field training officer. The resultant

data consisted of 198 evaluations accumulated over 4 years from 1996 through 1999.

Table1 identifies the gender and racial composition of these evaluations with respect to

both FTO and recruit. Notably, white male recruits critiqued white male FTOs in 44.4% (n = 88)

of the evaluations. Conversely, females, regardless of race, evaluated other females in only 1.5%

(n = 3) of the cases.

Table 1

Evaluation Frequency by Recruit/FTO Race/Gender Dyadic Compositions

FTO Race/Gender	Recruit Race/Gender						
	WM	BM	HM	AM	WF	BF	Total
WM	88	28	8	1	28	5	158
BM	11	8	0	1	1	3	24
HM	6	0	0	0	1	0	7
WF	3	2	0	0	3	0	8
HF	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	109	38	8	2	33	8	198

Note. WM = White Male, BM = Black Male, HM = Hispanic Male, AM = Asian Male,

WF = White Female, BF = Black Female, HF = Hispanic Female

Table 2 identifies the racial and gender breakdown of the recruits and training officers

identified in the 198 evaluations. Of the total 92 recruits completing evaluations, 57.6% (n = 53)

were white males. Minorities accounted for 28.3% (n = 26) of trainees, while women comprised

only 15.2% (n = 16). Among FTOs named by the evaluations, 81.6% (n = 31) were white males.

Minority and female FTOs accounted for 14.3% (n = 5) and 7.9% (n = 3), respectively.

Table 2

Frequency of Recruit and FTO by Combined Race and Gender

Position	Race/Gender						
	WM	BM	HM	AM	WF	BF	HF
Recruit	53	18	4	1	13	3	0
FTO	31	3	1	0	2	0	1

Note. WM = White Male, BM = Black Male, HM = Hispanic Male, AM = Asian Male,

WF = White Female, BF = Black Female, HF = Hispanic Female

Results

Table 3 represents the zero-order relationship between recruit race and FTO critique

scores. There are no significant differences in scores. In other words, white and black recruits

rate their training officers similarly.

Table 3

Mean FTO Critique Scores by Recruit Race

Trait	White Recruits			Nonwhite Recruits			
	Mean	s.d.	n	Mean	s.d.	n	t-test
Ability	4.73	0.49	142	4.64	0.55	56	1.023
Example	4.38	0.78	142	4.35	0.89	56	0.237
Interest	4.49	0.75	142	4.54	0.63	56	-0.406
Knowledge	4.66	0.52	142	4.57	0.53	56	1.098
Skill	4.42	0.84	142	4.39	0.93	56	0.191
Communication	4.45	0.86	142	4.36	0.88	56	0.687
Application	4.50	0.85	142	4.29	0.91	56	1.544
Attitude	4.57	0.75	141	4.42	0.79	55	1.295

* Denotes significance at the .05 level of analysis, two-tailed.

Table 4 reports mean FTO evaluation scores with respect to trainer race. The results show a tendency for trainees to score nonwhite FTOs slightly higher than white FTOs in seven of the eight areas. However, none of these differences are statistically significant.

Table 4

Mean FTO Critique Scores by FTO Race

	White FTO			Nonwhite FTO			
Trait	Mean	s.d.	n	Mean	s.d.	n	t-test
Ability	4.70	0.52	166	4.72	0.46	32	-0.202
Example	4.34	0.84	166	4.56	0.56	32	-1.462
Interest	4.50	0.75	166	4.53	0.57	32	-0.246
Knowledge	4.65	0.53	166	4.56	0.50	32	0.873
Skill	4.40	0.90	166	4.48	0.67	32	-0.518
Communication	4.39	0.89	166	4.59	0.71	32	-1.216
Application	4.43	0.90	166	4.48	0.71	32	-0.337
Attitude	4.52	0.79	164	4.59	0.56	32	-0.512

* Denotes significance at the .05 level of analysis, two-tailed.

Table 5 demonstrates a first-order relationship between traits scores and FTO race as perceived by white and nonwhite recruits. Nonwhite trainees score nonwhite FTOs higher than white FTOs in every category except for knowledge. Although this suggests a racial interaction between minority recruits and white FTOs, none of these differences are statistically significant.

Table 5

Mean FTO Critique Scores by Recruit and FTO Race

Recruit Race	Trait	White FTO			Nonwhite FTO			
		Mean	s.d.	n	Mean	s.d.	n	t-test
White Recruits:	Ability	4.73	0.50	122	4.70	0.47	20	0.247
	Example	4.36	0.80	122	4.50	0.61	20	-0.741
	Interest	4.50	0.78	122	4.45	0.61	20	0.251
	Knowledge	4.67	0.52	122	4.60	0.50	20	0.576
	Skill	4.42	0.87	122	4.43	0.67	20	-0.034
	Communication	4.43	0.86	122	4.55	0.83	20	-0.559
	Application	4.49	0.86	122	4.53	0.82	20	-0.162
	Attitude	4.56	0.77	121	4.65	0.59	20	-0.486
Nonwhite Recruits:	Ability	4.61	0.58	44	4.75	0.45	12	-0.753
	Example	4.26	0.95	44	4.67	0.49	12	-1.407
	Interest	4.50	0.67	44	4.67	0.49	12	-0.808
	Knowledge	4.59	0.54	44	4.50	0.52	12	0.519
	Skill	4.34	0.99	44	4.58	0.67	12	-0.800
	Communication	4.27	0.95	44	4.67	0.49	12	-1.382
	Application	4.25	0.99	44	4.41	0.52	12	-0.560
	Attitude	4.40	0.85	43	4.50	0.52	12	-0.405

* Denotes significance at the .05 level of analysis, two-tailed.

Table 6 examines the zero-order relationship between recruit gender and FTO mean critiques scores. Results show female recruits score their FTOs higher than do their male counterparts in six of the eight categories. However, these differences between male and female trainee scores are not statistically significant.

Table 6

Mean FTO Critique Scores by Recruit Gender

Trait	Male Recruits			Female Recruits			
	Mean	*s.d.*	*n*	Mean	*s.d.*	*n*	*t*-test
Ability	4.71	0.51	157	4.68	0.52	41	0.268
Example	4.34	0.83	157	4.48	0.72	41	-0.945
Interest	4.49	0.75	157	4.55	0.61	41	-0.461
Knowledge	4.66	0.52	157	4.56	0.55	41	1.037
Skill	4.39	0.92	157	4.50	0.59	41	-0.733
Communication	4.39	0.92	157	4.54	0.60	41	-0.937
Application	4.42	0.94	157	4.50	0.55	41	-0.522
Attitude	4.52	0.80	155	4.56	0.59	41	-0.287

* Denotes significance at the .05 level of analysis, two-tailed.

Table 7 represents mean FTO critique scores by FTO gender. Female FTOs received somewhat lower scores on skill, communication, and application. Once again, these differences between male and female FTO evaluation scores are not statistically significant.

Table 7

Mean FTO Critique Scores by FTO Gender

Trait	Male FTO			Female FTO			
	Mean	s.d.	n	Mean	s.d.	n	t-test
Ability	4.70	0.51	189	4.67	0.50	9	0.212
Example	4.36	0.82	189	4.67	0.50	9	-1.121
Interest	4.51	0.72	189	4.39	0.78	9	0.483
Knowledge	4.63	0.53	189	4.78	0.44	9	-0.830
Skill	4.43	0.87	189	4.00	0.71	9	1.464
Communication	4.44	0.85	189	4.11	1.05	9	1.116
Application	4.45	0.88	189	4.22	0.67	9	0.758
Attitude	4.53	0.77	187	4.44	0.53	9	0.347

* Denotes significance at the .05 level of analysis, two-tailed.

A first-order table, Table 8, depicts the interaction of FTO and recruit gender on mean evaluation scores. Male trainees rate female FTOs higher than male FTOs in four areas: example, interest, knowledge, and attitude. Conversely, they give the male FTOs higher marks in skill, communication, and application. As suggested by Table 7, male and female FTOs receive nearly equal scores relating to ability as an officer from both male and female rookies. However, female rookies rate their same-sex FTO notably lower in six of the remaining seven categories. Although this seems to support a lack of solidarity between female recruits and female FTOs, the limited number of cases (n = 3) undermines this conclusion.

Table 8

Mean FTO Critique Scores by Recruit and FTO Sex

| | Male Recruits | | | | | | Female Recruits | | | | | |
| | Male FTO | | | Female FTO | | | Male FTO | | | Female FTO | | |
Trait	Mean	*s.d.*	*n*	Mean	*s.d.*	*n*	Mean	*s.d.*	*n*	Mean	*s.d.*	*n*
Ability	4.71	0.51	151	4.67	0.52	6	4.68	0.53	38	4.67	0.58	3
Example	4.33	0.83	151	4.83	0.41	6	4.49	0.74	38	4.33	0.58	3
Interest	4.48	0.76	151	4.67	0.52	6	4.61	0.55	38	3.83	1.04	3
Knowledge	4.65	0.52	151	4.83	0.41	6	4.55	0.55	38	4.67	0.58	3
Skill	4.40	0.93	151	4.12	0.75	6	4.57	0.55	38	3.67	0.58	3
Communication	4.40	0.91	151	4.17	1.17	6	4.58	0.55	38	4.00	1.00	3
Application	4.42	0.94	151	4.33	0.82	6	4.54	0.55	38	4.00	0.00	3
Attitude	4.52	0.81	149	4.67	0.52	6	4.61	0.59	38	4.00	0.00	3

Table 9 depicts the combined race and gender categories of rookie officers as they evaluated the FTOs within race and gender categories. Stated scores represent the mean of consolidated (averaged across all traits) critique scores. Most scores fall around the total mean, regardless of race or gender, of 4.5. Only one category, nonwhite male recruit and white male FTO, deviated significantly from the total mean and contained sufficient cases to evaluate. An independent samples t-test failed to produce statistically significant results when comparing this category with others in the table.

Table 9

Mean Combined Trait Scores by Recruit and FTO Race and Gender

| | Recruit Race/Gender | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | White Male | | | Nonwhite Male | | | White Female | | | Nonwhite Female | | |
FTO Race/Gender	Mean	s.d.	n	Mean	s.d.	n	Mean	s.d.	n	Mean	s.d.	n
WM	4.53	0.67	88	4.35	0.71	37	4.52	0.49	28	4.67	0.42	5
NM	4.59	0.50	17	4.51	0.40	9	4.75	0.35	2	4.83	0.14	3
WF	4.71	0.31	3	4.81	0.27	2	4.15	0.44	3			0
NF	3.50		1			0			0			0

Note. WM = White Male, NM = Nonwhite Male, WF = White Female, NF = Nonwhite Female.

Discussion

This project initiated with three primary objectives. The first goal was to assess the progress toward the perceived acceptance of women and minorities within TPD by comparing current data with results obtained from Doerner and Patterson's (1992) study. Second, this researcher planned to expand upon the earlier work by introducing FTO race as an independent variable. Finally, the larger sample size offered the opportunity to delve into the dual discrimination some authors (Moore and Webb, 1998; National Center for Women and Policing, 1998; Yoder and Aniakudo, 1997; Martin, 1994) have suggested minority women experience.

With respect to minorities, Doerner and Patterson (1992) found white and nonwhite recruits evaluated their FTOs similarly. Likewise, in the current study, there are no significant differences in scores between white and nonwhite recruits. However, the range of present scores, 4.3 to 4.7, is of a considerably greater magnitude than those from the earlier research, 4.1 to 4.5. This increase may be linked to an increased professionalism or maturation of the FTO corps.

Doerner and Patterson (1992) noted female trainees issued significantly lower scores to their FTOs than did male recruits. Additionally, female recruits were slightly harsher on female FTOs than male FTOs. Comparatively, differences between scores issued by male and female recruits in the present study are not statistically significant. Although female trainees seem to evaluate female FTOs much lower than male FTOs, the small sample size (n = 3) precludes significant results. Therefore, gender seems not to be a factor in FTO assessments.

Doerner and Patterson (1992) were limited in their analysis of racial interactions due to a

lack of variance in FTO race. Their data represented 15 white FTOs but only one minority training officer. As a result, the minority case was dropped from the data set. Greater racial diversity allows the current work to consider FTO race as a dichotomy, white and nonwhite. Nonwhite FTOs receive scores comparable to those attributed to white FTOs. Therefore, FTO race does not appear to affect evaluation scores.

With respect to both race and gender, white female trainees and white male trainees evaluate white male FTOs almost identically when considering a composite (all traits combined) score. Thus, white females do not exhibit inequity through evaluation scores compared to white males. These findings suggest white female officers experience field training similarly to their male counterparts when paired with male FTOs. Although nonwhite male recruits posted a somewhat lower composite score when evaluating white male FTOs than did white male or white female recruits, the differences were not statistically significant.

In addition to the stated objectives, three hypotheses were proposed for this study. The first hypothesis, minority recruits are expected to evaluate training officers more critically than do white trainees, is not supported. Likewise, minority FTOs were not shown to receive lower scores than white FTOs. The second hypothesis, female recruits are expected to evaluate training officers more critically than do male trainees, is not supported. Also, female FTOs were not shown to receive lower scores than male FTOs.

This studies' final objective addresses the dual discrimination proposed for minority women. Unfortunately, this research is unable to explore this issue due to the small number of

minority female trainees (n = 3) in this group. Therefore, the final hypothesis, minority female

trainees are expected to evaluate training officers more critically than any other recruit

race/gender category, is not supported. Also, minority females are not shown to evaluate white

FTOs most severely, followed by white female FTOs. Although dual discrimination could not be

explored in these data, the availability of only three minority female recruits over a 4-year period

suggests TPD has not cleared the initial hurdle in providing parity for this group.

Conclusion

The preponderance of research since 1972 indicates pervasive employment discrimination for minorities and women, especially black women, in law enforcement. This environment is created through the interaction of changing racial and gender norms with a relatively inert police organization. Studies suggest the resistance to change embodied in the paramilitary police organization can be expected to foil any attempts to achieve racial and gender parity.

However, results from the present study fail to provide support for racial or gender inequity as experienced by the rookie in a pre-service FTO Program. The lack of significant findings suggests several superficial possibilities. First, the TPD may have made substantial progress in the equal-opportunity realm in the last decade. Second, the quality or professionalism of the trainers may have increased through a maturation process. Finally, although unlikely at the entry level, recruits may have accepted the organizational inequities or become absorbed into the police culture as suggested by Mastrofski (1990).

Despite this indication of progress, these data consider only one interaction in the police organization, between recruit and FTO. Also, this study addresses minority and gender experiences only at the lowest rank level, recruit. Beyond the limitations of this study in scope, two validity issues need to be addressed. First, the data set can not be shown to accurately depict all recruits hired at TPD because recruits failing Phase One would not complete any evaluations. Additionally, despite promised anonymity, minority and female recruits may have feared reprisal and elevated their evaluation scores diminishing statistically significant differences. Therefore,

these results should not be generalized to other police agencies or even to TPD, outside the FTO Program.

With respect to the TPD FTO Program, a number of observations were made. Among the primary FTOs, white males accounted for 81.6% (n = 31) of identified trainers. Minority males accounted for approximately 10%, while females, both white and minority, numbered less than 8% of the total 38 trainers identified. Based upon these observations, the next step toward equity is to achieve racial and gender parity among FTOs.

While this FTO Program seems to have made considerable progress in the last decade, the struggle to achieve racial and gender parity is far from over. Certainly, the lack of representation of minority female recruits in this data set suggests any progress may be limited to black male and white female trainees. This service pre-training program represents but one dimension of the police organization. Parity and equal opportunity within law enforcement is a multi-faceted and complex issue. Beyond the training process, minorities and women have yet to achieve equity in retention or promotion opportunities.

This work has attempted to present the field training process as a point of interaction between the recruit and organization as mediated by the FTO. This perspective emphasizes that correction of affirmative action shortcomings is not solely within the capability of the organization. Regardless of the changes or attempted corrections made by the police agency, parity and equal opportunity cannot be achieved without some measure of change on the part of

society and the individual recruit. Future research should consider other areas of inequity within policing with this balanced perspective rather than the traditional one-sided viewpoint.

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